

by Theodore H. White

Not since the barbarian princes of medieval Europe surrounded themselves with astrologers and theologians has any sovereign office so completely given its trust to or taken its guidance from official wise men as does the American Presidency today.

And not since that visionary, Christopher Columbus, spread his maps before Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain to explain his theory that the earth was round has any court had so much reason to be grateful to its wise men—or so much reason for caution.

Columbus was to lead the Spaniards to a new world he had not dreamed of, just as American scholars today are leading us, by their theories, to a new world whose dimensions their imagination cannot yet circumscribe. And as appetite for the gold Columbus found ultimately destroyed the Spaniards, so the new abundance which scholars are pouring into old American forms imperils the life it is supposed to enrich.

For in America today the new abundance—of knowledge, of technologies, of material things—has strengthened old appetites but shaken old values. It has filled leisure hours not with contemplation, but with temptations. It has congested places of repose with crowds who disturb each other's tranquillity. It has freed citizens for motion so frantic that neither our streets, our roads, nor our landing fields can manage the traffic of

and individual; and as many of our oldest standards of judgment crumble, into the void has come the new elite of American scholars—the action-intellectuals, who not only define for government what problems change has brought, but are expected to offer solutions.

This, says Professor Samuel Beer of Harvard, is the distinctive character of the new politics—that its goals are less and less set by old pressures and pressure groups; more and more by the invitation of pure learning and research knowledge. Information, as it accumulates, provokes intervention in politics all by itself.

“If a man knows more than anyone else in the country about retarded children,” says Beer, “and there’s money to do something about it, how can he be silent?”

Equally, if government calls for knowledge, how can scholars hold aloof? At a long evening’s talk-session of professors in Los Angeles, a professor of the UCLA Law School voiced his credo: he was a devout Democrat, just back from a hitch in Washington at the advanced liberal headquarters of the War on Poverty. Asked whether he would serve conservative Governor Ronald Reagan in California if called on, he replied, “If Reagan asked me—why, of course I’d have to say yes. That’s what a professor is for.” None of the others demurred.

Old-fashioned pressure groups, inspired by ideas born 30 years ago, may press their local congressman, say,

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Most of all, however, the new abundance has changed the drives of the nation's politics. Americans have left behind the historic era of scarcity, where the cleaving thrusts of politics rose from how to share among all people what there was to share. Today the Politics of Distribution is being replaced by the Politics of Innovation—abundance invites us to the Age of Experiment.

The new wealth teases the imagination of both state

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Old-fashioned pressure groups, inspired by ideas born 30 years ago, may press their local congressman, say, for legislative approval of a new \$5 million housing project. Yet an astronomer, sweeping the night skies by himself, may lay down in the offices of NASA a set of star charts and photographs that will trigger an expenditure of \$50 million by administrative decision alone.

As we move further into this new era, who is to decide what opportunities are to be explored? Who is to judge a complicated idea as being good or dangerous, as feasible or simply fanciful? How will national resources be assigned to the widening range of experiments?

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to problems but to suggest approaches and alternatives

A super team with ambitions of managing man's whole environment



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Adolf Berle has said that all political priorities must flow from an over-all system of philosophic values: only when a political system has decided what is good and what is beautiful can it take the intermediate steps and set the priorities for reaching its goals. So it is that, as one examines the scope and excitement of what the action-intellectuals ponder these days, one moves through stages of enthusiastic anticipation, to perplexity, to alarm—depending on how clear are the goals framed by their ideas and the values that guide them.

ESSA, for example, has clear goals. ESSA—Environmental Science Services Administration—is the governmental flesh on an idea that over the years grew among scholars to provoke political action in 1966: the perception that all the environment of man seemed interlinked. The outer space that envelopes us, the ocean depths and the air we breathe, the shores we bathe on, the earthquakes that rock us, the sunspots that blot out radio communications slowly assembled themselves in scientists' vision as one interlocking, quivering web of nature. Government, through the Department of Commerce, responded. By administrative de-

ness all weather, ocean, space, river, solid-earth sciences and services in a team that might make the great globe and America's share of it a better place to live.

Few men but other scientists can understand ESSA's scientific programs and esoterica. Yet the importance of the agency's services is already accepted by all Americans. Says Dr. Robert M. White, ESSA's director, "Man *must* live in harmony with nature. But modern living presses on the environment beyond its capacity to tolerate—industry, population, pollution disturb it. And at the same time, as our civilization grows more complex and sophisticated, it becomes more sensitive—so that old-fashioned phenomena like earthquakes, floods and hurricanes become more devastating. If we don't learn to live in harmony with the environment, we're in trouble."

In 10 years' time ESSA's leadership hopes to launch not only new adventures in monitoring man's environment but the first tentative adventures in positively managing it. An international weather watch may permit accurate weather forecasts two weeks in advance and a central natural-disaster warning system would alert citizens to every disturbance, from hurricane and flood to radio blackouts and tsunamis. ESSA

ESSA's goals are so clear, indeed, that its scientific ambitions have already become the commonest editorial clichés, and today it is politically more fashionable to denounce air pollution than the man-eating shark or Communist imperialism. The only question is, how much of our resources, what priorities we will let ESSA's scholars claim for their experiments.

What is true of ESSA is true of all government's great scientific agencies—AEC, NASA, NIH and others. Their goals, too, are clear. Likewise, the only question the scholars serving these agencies pose is how much of the total of our new abundance government will give them, how slow or fast we will permit them to conduct those experiments which lead us to the moon, or the inner energy of the atom, or the solution to cancer.

A stupendous gulf, however, separates scholars concentrating on such goals from equally dedicated scholars in other still-unfocused disciplines who may deliver us to political problems more frightening than did the physicists who gave us nuclear bombs. Within 20 or 30 years, for example, the biologists may be able to convert matter to life. They may conceivably learn enough of nature's code of heredity to give

tial idiots, criminals, degenerates.

What kind of people do we want to have? What kind of people should be eliminated? The American value system does not yet press government to guide or slow or speed the curiosity and experiments of the biologists; so they probe decades away from the threshold of political decision.

Where the impact of learning presses most brutally on current political decision is in the middle ground. For between ESSA, NASA and AEC on the one hand (where values are clear and controls established) and the biologists on the other hand (in whose field it is too early to speak of values and controls) lies the area explored by the social scientists. The social scientists study man's relation to man; they offer a bewildering output of fact and research on how swiftly these relationships are changing—in our communities, cities, moralities. But do their facts add up to wisdom? Does their description of the problems automatically lead to solutions? Can they, for example, give a grizzled mayor or harassed city council useful guidance without clear values which they all accept?

It is the wild and rumbling rhetoric of the alienated intellectuals

Science Services Administration —is the governmental flesh on an idea that over the years grew among scholars to provoke political action in 1966: the perception that all the environment of man seemed interlinked. The outer space that envelopes us, the ocean depths and the air we breathe, the shores we bathe on, the earthquakes that rock us, the sunspots that blot out radio communications slowly assembled themselves in scientists' vision as one interlocking, quivering web of nature. Government, through the Department of Commerce, responded. By administrative decision, its Weather Bureau, its Coast and Geodetic Survey, its National Bureau of Standards, all its environmental activities were focused in one new institution, ESSA, with a clear goal: to har-

na like earthquakes, floods and hurricanes become more devastating. If we don't learn to live in harmony with the environment, we're in trouble."

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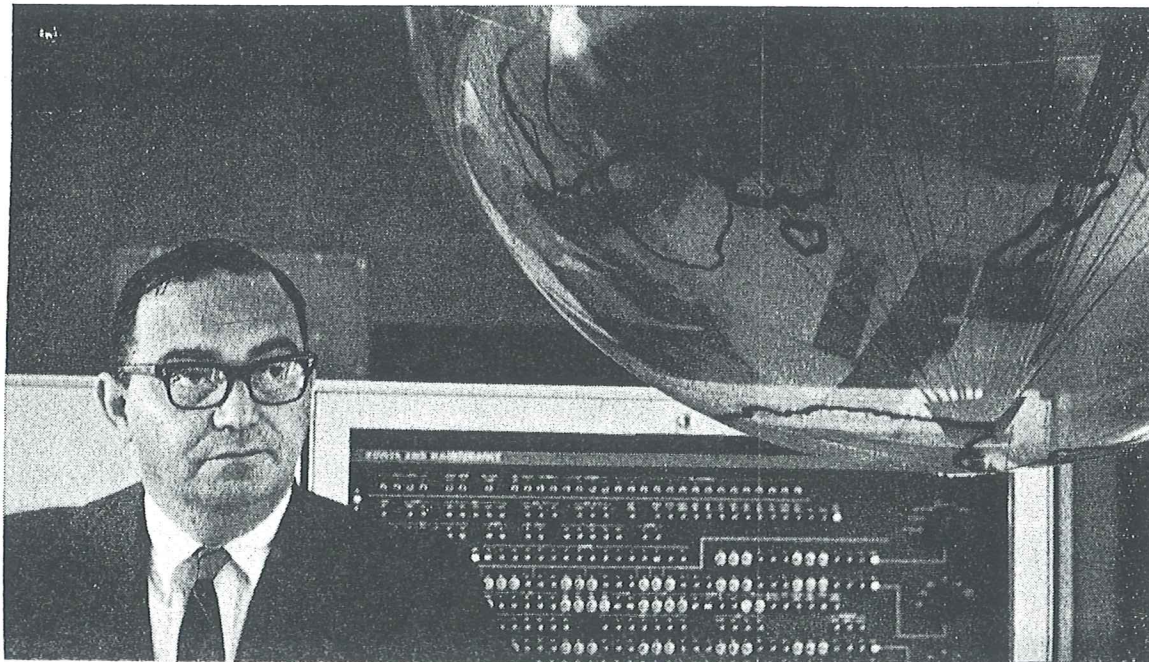
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It is the wild and rumbling rhetoric of the alienated intellectuals of what is called "The New Left" which, paradoxically, illuminates best the dilemma of the action-intellectuals. There is very little new about the ideas of the New Left except for the sour and hopeless quality of their talk. To the New Left, the enemy in America is some faceless "they" who control events. "They" are persecuting Negroes. "They" are building not a Great Society but an idiot society. "They" have ruined our cities. "They" are crushing individuals, depriving them of identity, denying them the opportunity of achievement. If only the anonymous and malevolent "they" can be purged, implies the New Left, America will find its way to a new, freer, humanitarian society.

The action-intellectuals, as we have seen in Part II of this series, left this philosophy behind 30 years ago. They have become par-

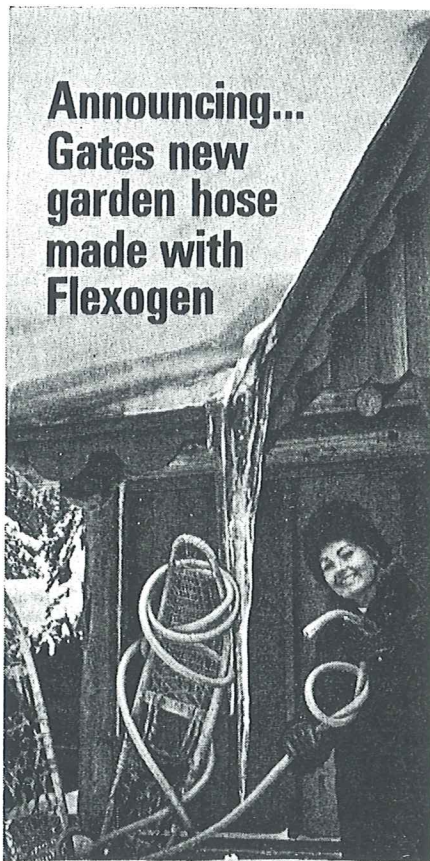
In a computer-banked laboratory in Washington, ESSA chief Robert M. White stands beside a plastic globe.

Scientists at the lab construct theoretical models which simulate the behavior of the world's atmosphere and oceans.



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Accurate facts that were wrong about Watts



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ticipants, and government is their instrument of expression; change must be governed or civilization will destroy itself in an anarchy of technology. Yet, the action-intellectuals have no certain answers for tomorrow. Thus, even in the most specialized laboratories, the scholars grope for a "coherent doctrine" embracing both sociology and technology. And it is just here, in this search for "coherent doctrine," that one comes to the quandary of today's social scientists—for the best of them stand at the dawn of a self-doubt unknown to earlier generations of scholars who preceded them to Washington.

Their activist predecessors had not only the enormous advantage of a stored-up capital of ideas, but within their special disciplines they had the certainty that comes of a "coherent doctrine." The physical scientists could see themselves as nature's agents, revealing nature's laws, which could not be challenged; Einstein had given a theory about the nature of the physical world, and they were its oracles, as little to be doubted as were the theologians of the Middle Ages, the only men then licensed to explain God. The academic economists of the past 10 years could operate under the roof theories of

and studies—some spurious, some genuine—explode to epidemic proportions. Pollsters and researchers tramp from door to door, office to office, flood the mail with questionnaires to be encoded on computers in the hope that truth will result. (One estimate is that over \$500 million a year is spent on such surveys.)

To the best of the social scientists, however, many such surveys are now seen as dangerous, or as wasteful as they are useful. For to measure something does not mean to understand it. Figures alone, said a French social scientist, would indicate that tearing down the Louvre and expanding in its place Les Halles, the central market of Paris, would be the most efficient economic use of space in the French capital. But what would Paris be without the Louvre? Again and again, scholars recognize that figures and measurements have deceived earlier scholars who led government to blight what it sought most to save or create:

► *Item*—Thirty years ago the best New Deal intellectuals urged an aggregate, economists' strategy to save the farmers of the nation. There were 6,812,000 farm families at the time, pressed to the wall by dead theories which held that the laws of the

lution the government adopted.

For a generation since, undeviatingly, men in Washington who have thought about farms have thought of them in terms of price-supports. Not the family, but the bushel has been the unit of measurement—prices pegged for all farmers alike, at rising rates, no matter how few or many their acres. And as prices rose (they are now three times what they were in the Depression), science and efficiency led the big farmer to gobble the small. Result: of the original 6.8 million farm families who were to be saved, 3.2 million remain today.

► *Item*—Urban renewal was a lovely idea, which sprang from scholars 18 years ago. Today, a score of cities show the triumphs of urban renewal in new vistas and glistening buildings that open to the sun. But for each center this program created, it wiped out three or four living communities, and with them the old neighborhoods that gave the city its vitality, diversity and flavor.

Urban renewal has succeeded superbly in its theoretical, or numerical, purpose—reducing density of population per square foot in the core city. But along the way no one remembered that, for every family driven out of what is called a "blighted neigh-

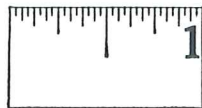
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not only the enormous advantage of a stored-up capital of ideas, but within their special disciplines they had the certainty that comes of a "coherent doctrine." The physical scientists could see themselves as nature's agents, revealing nature's laws, which could not be challenged; Einstein had given a theory about the nature of the physical world, and they were its oracles, as little to be doubted as were the theologians of the Middle Ages, the only men then licensed to explain God. The academic economists of the past 10 years could operate under the roof theories of John Maynard Keynes with the tools of analysis and statistical measurement developed in the previous 30 years.

The social scientists, however, when they look at America today, know they are not the mouthpieces of nature proclaiming oracular truth. No master has given them the magical human equivalent of Einstein's $E=mc^2$. They must wander *across* disciplines—in economics and psychology, in health and psychiatry, in images and heritages, in arithmetic and beauty—dealing with human beings whose genetics and aspirations defy the techniques of all the sciences that preceded them.

Crutched by the measurement techniques of the economists, many social scientists fumble to define—in figures—emotions, yearnings, resentments, groups, classes and movements. Surveys

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► *Item*—Thirty years ago the best New Deal intellectuals urged an aggregate, economists' strategy to save the farmers of the nation. There were 6,812,000 farm families at the time, pressed to the wall by dead theories which held that the laws of the market must prevail, however cruelly, over their agony; only new theories could lead government to alter these laws. The farm family could be seen as an integer in the global market, a production-consumption unit, a symbolic junction of figures on acreage, prices and yields. Or it could be seen as a family—a man with dirt under his fingernails, enjoying the dew and the clear sky in the morning, hoping over the short-range for a good crop this season and, over the long-range, to pass on 160 acres to his son. Intellectual strategy might have focused either on saving the family in the village, as a community, or on the figures which defined its problem on charts. The easier—although in those days the bolder—solution was to focus on figures: stabilize the price of the crop and then raise it; save the price and save all—which was, indeed, the intellectual so-

scholars 18 years ago. Today, a score of cities show the triumphs of urban renewal in new vistas and glistening buildings that open to the sun. But for each center this program created, it wiped out three or four living communities, and with them the old neighborhoods that gave the city its vitality, diversity and flavor.

Urban renewal has succeeded superbly in its theoretical, or numerical, purpose—reducing density of population per square foot in the core city. But along the way no one remembered that, for every family driven out of what is called a "blighted neighborhood," balancing housing had to be built, communities created. By 1964, urban renewal in our big cities had given new shelter to only 28,000 families, but driven from their homes 176,000 families, pushed out to seek dismal rooms in strange neighborhoods or to crowd into new slums.

Figures and facts are the building blocks of intellectuals' theories—yet what reading is to be made of contradictory facts? The overwhelming weight of most research, several years ago, indicated that the condition of the Negro in Los Angeles—measured by figures on housing, wages, income, delinquency, family life—was better than in any other big city of the land. A minority report was brought in by the scholars of the UCLA Institute of Industrial Relations, probing such measureless resentments as public indignities, lack of transportation or hospitals. Neither the

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'Washington calls endlessly
for ideas, faster than they come'



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State of California nor the City of Los Angeles heeded the minority report—and, in 1965, Watts exploded.

Further, when scholars begin to extrapolate from one environment to another they make errors as gross as ordinary men. Brilliant scholarship in economics and history guided the thinkers of the Marshall Plan to force Europe toward unity in the spectacularly successful Common Market. So, from Harvard's Center for International Affairs scholars pushed this concept of European unity into American diplomacy of defense and it took the shape of NATO's polyglot Multilateral Force (MLF)—an absurdity that satisfied no European ally's instinct for control of its own defense and thus paralyzed Atlantic diplomacy for three years until discarded and buried in 1966.

Clichés always show where the action boils. Thus if today the condition of our cities has generated the most overworked set of clichés in American public talk, it is not because the scholars, with their overwhelming deluge of sta-

will they suffocate each other's identity? Yet, in precisely those university centers where the best scholars gather to answer such questions, one finds the most concern among action-intellectuals about the validity of their own thinking.

The two centers of greatest prestige in this country are the urban-study centers of M.I.T.-Harvard and the University of Chicago. Rivals for years in the same field, the same wordless confusion now binds them. "We used to think," says Professor Richard Wade of Chicago's Center, "that give us enough money and we'd solve the problems of education, tear down slums, clean up cities, begin real job-training. Now we have the money, and we find our assumptions weren't right. Our academic theories and framework were unreal. No university has the answer to the problems that perplex you and me."

A thousand miles away one can listen in Cambridge and hear Professor Daniel P. Moynihan of the M.I.T.-Harvard Center echo the same thought: "We have to find out what's happening. We know that uncontrolled introduction of technology is spoiling city life.

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Today, as cities are jostled by the impact of technology and swollen by new arrivals, we face a future in which, by the year 2000, 80% of all American growth will happen in metropolitan clusters, where more than 280 million Americans will be crowded. Will they crush each other's dreams,

Wade of Chicago's Center, "that give us enough money and we'd solve the problems of education, tear down slums, clean up cities, begin real job-training. Now we have the money, and we find our assumptions weren't right. Our academic theories and framework were unreal. No university has the answer to the problems that perplex you and me."

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Nowhere is the quandary of the urbanists better reflected than in the new departments of Washington government—Housing and Urban Development, Health-Education-Welfare, Transportation. These are the most exciting departments of the Johnson Administration, headquarters in the search for ideas that may turn the key to the future. The new departments and their academic elite know that whatever hopes

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Read
any good walls
lately?

A call to re-examine the very nature of government



CONTINUED

are summed up in the Great Society are theirs to make real. Their mandate is all-encompassing, their funds generous, the challenge immediate. All they need are answers. Yet, all they can offer are experiments.

Professor Robert Wood of M.I.T., for example, is Under Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. He is a sandy-haired, wiry man of 43, who graduated from combat soldier in a World War II infantry division to a Harvard scholarship, and thence over the years, as a student of urban affairs, to the M.I.T. faculty. A talk with him reveals all that is best, hopeful and unsettling in the Politics of Innovation.

As chairman of two scholarly task forces on the cities, set up by President Johnson in 1964 and 1965, he helped conceive the legislation written into the laws of 1966 as the Model Cities Act—legislation which gives federal money to a few American cities to devise and coordinate the services that would make living communities out of slum jungles. When the Administration asked him to leave M.I.T. and become an offi-

city is different—Seattle is different from New York, Boston from Los Angeles. They can't work these programs by themselves—but we can't run them from Washington either. What cities are for is to provide people with choices—so people can live, play, shop, go where they want. We don't want to prescribe a Utopian City for America. We want to give it choices in urban life."

What is happening among the action-intellectuals is a vast pinwheeling motion, as if a ghost-like army were maneuvering in the dark, unfolding to take up new positions for new action. The problem of the city is only the pivot of this redeployment; a larger historical strategy is developing. For the first time in 60 years, since the scholars of Wisconsin took their ideas to Washington (see Part 2), the action-intellectuals are beginning to doubt whether the central government in Washington is the appropriate instrument for the needs of the new generation of problems.

The need of American commu-



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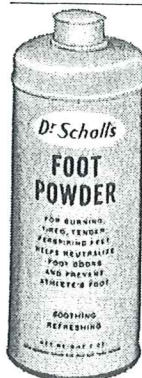
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gent of urban affairs, to the M.I.T. faculty. A talk with him reveals all that is best, hopeful and unsettling in the Politics of Innovation.

As chairman of two scholarly task forces on the cities, set up by President Johnson in 1964 and 1965, he helped conceive the legislation written into the laws of 1966 as the Model Cities Act—legislation which gives federal money to a few American cities to devise and coordinate the services that would make living communities out of slum jungles. When the Administration asked him to leave M.I.T. and become an official, he could not refuse. "If I believed what I wrote," he said, "I had to put my money where my mouth was."

Now Wood is passionately concerned with making operate the programs he helped stimulate—both the Model Cities legislation and the more far-reaching Metropolitan Areas legislation. Worried about persuading this year's Congress for the money necessary to continue the department's experimental programs, Wood equally worries, he admits, "when everyone starts yelling for more money. I'm not sure we know how to use more money."

"What we're trying to do is to prove that the American city can be made livable again. But if you focus only on schools, only on Head Start, only on race problems, it just doesn't work. Somehow we're trying to start a self-generating, self-renewing process of community action. But every

one dark, unfolding to take up new positions for new action. The problem of the city is only the pivot of this redeployment; a larger historical strategy is developing. For the first time in 60 years, since the scholars of Wisconsin took their ideas to Washington (see Part 2), the action-intellectuals are beginning to doubt whether the central government in Washington is the appropriate instrument for the needs of the new generation of problems.

The need of American communities today is for a diversity of solutions, a diversity of expressions that will be paralyzed if controlled from Washington, or unwittingly cruel if imposed by fiat. A totally new orchestration of services, a new chain of responsibility is required. And if Washington is no longer the place to press for action, where should the action-intellectuals go?

Thus, at the forward fringe, the best thinkers among the scholar-elite meet the New Left thinkers back to back. Neither can find a real "they" to press to do their will. But whereas the New Left believes that once the sinister, conspiratorial "they" in Washington or New York is eliminated all will be well, the action-intellectuals know the real "they" is us—and the kind of government we may create. Thus, the action-intellectuals bring us to re-examine the nature of American government itself.

CONTINUED

A look at the U.S. with the state boundaries changed



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William Scranton would not consider himself an intellectual. He was a politician, a working governor of the state of Pennsylvania. Yet he was able to frame the problems. In the late summer of 1965 a group of friends were visiting him for the weekend at his home at Marworth. He was leaving Pennsylvania in excellent shape and was already looking forward to the end of his term in the statehouse. Sitting on his terrace, overlooking the green slopes of the Appalachians, he talked about the job of being a governor.

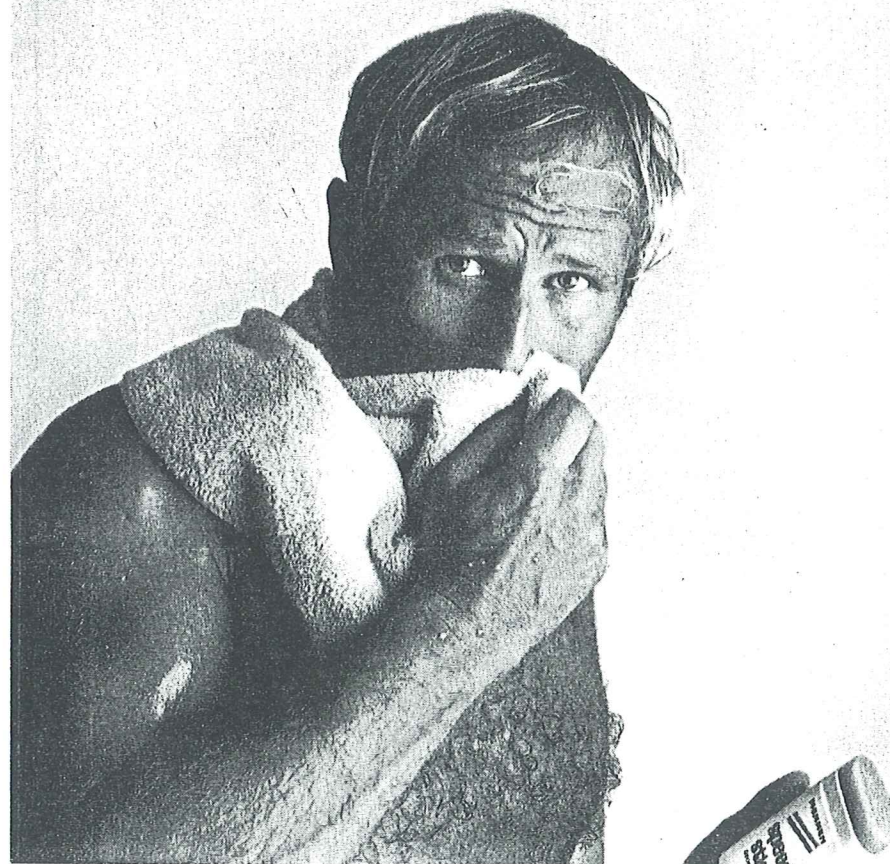
He always felt sorry, he said, for the governor of New Jersey—whichever man it happened to be. New Jersey simply couldn't be governed logically; you couldn't even run an efficient political campaign there—there wasn't a single television station in the state by which you could reach all the people at any one time and explain matters to them. New Jersey really ought to be split up: Hudson and Bergen counties ought to be peeled off and attached to some new state-to-be-fashioned that would include New York City and adjacent Connecticut—perhaps to be

urge him on. And, in half-serious, half-comic mood, he rearranged the map of the U.S. as far as the Great Lakes—at which point his professional knowledge of governments and geography ran out.

Scranton's thoughts were not entirely new. As long ago as 1787, at America's first Constitutional Convention, old Ben Franklin suggested the delegates forming their new union abolish and revise their state borders. The echo of the idea can be heard today in conversations with governors, mayors, lawmakers all across the land. For they talk, most of them, like men trapped—trapped by fossil forms and ancient theories hardened into law, trapped by boundaries drawn in Elizabethan, Puritan or Restoration London, by courtiers who granted blocks of land in a distant wilderness to favorites who had never seen America. Or they were trapped by surveyors' lines drawn straight as a ruler across the Louisiana Purchase and the Mexican conquests more than a century ago.

Within these old state borders, drawn for a rural, muscle-powered people, have grown the vibrant, humming new centers of

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And the whole area around Trenton, naturally, could best be governed if it were attached to the Philadelphia area. And the border between Massachusetts and Connecticut—what point was there in that arbitrary line? Southern New England was, in effect, already one community.

Even the borders of his own state might usefully be redrawn. The problems of Pennsylvania—beyond-the-Alleghenies were Ohio Valley problems, and the counties of southeastern Ohio and northern West Virginia have far more in common with Pittsburgh than they do with Columbus or Charleston.

Geography is one of Scranton's hobbies, so it was not difficult to

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Within these old state borders, drawn for a rural, muscle-powered people, have grown the vibrant, humming new centers of American civilization—and within these centers have developed a people full of dreams, ambitions, desires entirely different from the simple life of the 18th Century. But the services they need and seek cannot be delivered within the old constitutional rules by any leader, no matter how hard he tries.

New York State and New York City have, as governor and mayor, two outstanding and equally dedicated men, both Republicans, both staffed with scholars who define with meticulous accuracy and common agreement the problems before them. Yet constitutionally they must be enemies—they snarl at each other, make peace, grow bitter again, make compromise. For John Lindsay, constitutionally, is cast as beggar; his city is the financial capital of the world, yet he can-

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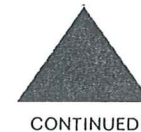
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How to be a hero without even drying



Our Constitution—'a mudbank left by receding tides of history'



CONTINUED

not tap its resources for its needs without permission from Nelson Rockefeller in Albany, or mercy from Washington.

To dare to question the validity of the Constitution of the United States is heresy in American politics—though the Founding Fathers themselves anticipated the need for changes ("The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention. . ."). Even state constitutions have, until recently, been sacred—with only 10 of 49 states revising their constitutions in the half-century up to 1960. However, a restlessness of growing force has begun to sweep the nation. In the past three years, Michigan, Tennessee, Connecticut, New Jersey have all revised their constitutions and 13 more states have set up official constitutional study commissions. In New York, Maryland, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, constitutional groups are gearing for or are already at work.

ing facts to which an itinerant king might apply his rule of law—have bearing today on traffic courts, on pollution problems, on scientific discoveries where no jury of laymen can satisfactorily weigh facts for the law to govern?

Other scholars question the traditional process of American elections. Can government carry its appeal to the people in any rational sense when the great forum of appeal is, today, television—and television is open only to those with the largest purse, and its impact dependent on carnival artistry and staged happenings?

Still other scholars question the entire current structure of the U.S. government. Are the federal bureaucracies of the 18th Century appropriate, some ask, for the tasks of tomorrow? Is central authority too limited to plan effectively the use of scarce resources like water and leisure land? Is the U.S. government so large and so extortionate in taxes that it must yield to some new kind of federalism which would



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No such fundamental ferment has swept the nation since the Civil War—and at its source is the yeast of science and scholarship. Few scholars go as far, say, as Professor Wentworth Eldredge of Dartmouth who calls the Federal Constitution "a mudbank left by the receding tides of history," a relic of the "era of the ox-drawn sledge." Nevertheless the research, the probings, the information that scholars bring back about man's relationship to man, and his relationship to nature, and the changes in both nature and man shake some of the most sacred assumptions of that Constitution.

It is not only the boundaries and functions of states and cities that they question. Legal scholars question the universal validity of the hallowed jury system. Can an institution developed by Henry II of Anjou and applied in 12th Century England as a simple system of establish-

on carnival artistry and staged happenings?

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The oldest bureaucracies in America are, for example, the Department of State and the Department of War—both founded when the diplomacy of the Renaissance had just matured and rules of civilized warfare were being shaped. In the past 50 years new and more complicated forms of war have developed—and the pandemic violence of partisan war, incubated by agitation and subversion, is just as revolutionary as nuclear war. Since none of the older bureaucracies can cope with the new immorality and new terror of partisan war, the CIA has been drawn into the empty shadow-ground where a new development—perhaps a "Department of Political Warfare"—should exist. But as the CIA flounders, doing of necessity those unpleasant things someone has to do, it shocks the traditional morality of the nation.

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The danger of having very brilliant men in charge of affairs

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Scholars examine the world about us, too, and illuminate fresh problems overseas. Is it wise that, in a shrinking world, the economy of the United States should be manacled to gold? Is it not best, the scholars say to government, that a new scheme of universal currency, divorced from gold, be devised to unify the monies of all the world? And what, they ask of government, are you to do about the newly defined problems of population control abroad as well as at home?

One returns from a long wandering around the country with no detailed blueprint of the future of American civilization. The intellectuals offer no pattern as clear as St. Augustine's City of God, or Plato's Republic. They offer no certainties except that, in the future, change will come swifter rather than slower. And it is in the questions they ask and in the information they deliver that they raise, finally, the question of their own role.

The ribs, the stones, the vaults that shape the states and communities of the world all began

as dreams. For the duties and rights assigned by constitutions to ordinary men have all descended from the imaginations of unknown visionaries in a forgotten past, hardened by age into law.

Yet states and constitutions can be changed and destroyed, too, by dreamers.

It is not that any serious scholars question the values of the American Constitution—the Bill of Rights which guarantees freedom; the underlying commitment to rule of law, to peaceful transfer of executive power; the balancing checks on all forms of power. It is only that the information, the research, the questions of the intellectuals are slowly challenging the validity of the old mechanics of government, casting doubt ever more gravely on whether the old Constitution, unless overhauled, can adequately grapple with the new obstacles to the pursuit of happiness.

Just here, perhaps, the new scholar-elite offers its greatest service—and suffers its greatest temptations. The scholars have arrived at the junction of history

where their role in politics demands definition. For it is as teachers, as cartographers only, that they must be seen. Their studies and surveys, however imperfect, are the only road maps of the future showing the hazy contours of a new landscape. It is vital work—so long as the map makers do not confuse themselves with tour directors. How Americans shall move across the panorama they describe and what structures shall be erected there is work for other men.

Thucydides, 2,400 years ago, first put his finger on the danger these scholars pose in politics. It was, he said, frequently a misfortune to have very brilliant men in charge of affairs: they expect too much of ordinary men.

Politics is an art that requires faith from the people in their leaders; without such faith, governments crumble, wars are lost, riots burst, no vast social experiments can be undertaken; and scholars who seek to impose logic on a people too fast, before they

have provided the education and understanding to which leaders can make appeal, understand little of the art of government.

American intellectuals began their journey to power as teachers—explaining and illuminating the revolutionary changes of our time. Today the new age invites them, as experimentalists, to a new step forward. Yet, we are to be the raw stuff of their experiments; and men are not particles to be wrapped up from micro-model to macro-model by an Einsteinian theory, not random units whose drives can be summed up by the aggregate equations of economists. In the new age, more than ever, the humility of the old-fashioned teacher becomes them best. There will be much pain and wrenching as we cross their maps to the promises beyond; and only leaders whom the people themselves choose and trust can judge the costs and rouse the faith to make the journey—a long road of common experience, common learning, common understanding, before we reach common consent.

Vast, accelerating change has compelled 18 states to start revising antiquated constitutions in the past two years. New York's constitutional convention is shown in session.



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